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ON PAGE **AP**NEW YORK TIMES  
16 December 1986

# IRAQ GETS REPORTS FROM U.S. FOR USE IN WAR WITH IRAN

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Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15 — Over the last two years, the United States has periodically supplied Iraq with military intelligence about Iran. White House and State Department officials said today.

The American officials said the information had been shared to help Iraq avoid being defeated by Iran in their six-year war. The officials said that would be disastrous to American interests.

But after the revelations of the last six weeks about secret arms sales to Iran, the latest disclosure was widely viewed as having further damaged the credibility of the Administration's claim to be neutral in the war.

## A Lesser Violation Is Seen

The officials, in effect confirming the outline of a report today in The Washington Post, said that while the intelligence sharing may have skirted the Administration policy, it was not as much of a violation of the policy as the shipment of arms to Iran. The shipments occurred over the last 18 months while the United States was seeking a worldwide arms embargo against Iran.

It was unclear what effect public disclosure of the sharing of intelligence with Iraq would have on a continuation of the practice.

Officials said the United States had two major objectives in the Persian Gulf war — to bring it to an end as soon as possible, and to do so without a clear winner or loser. They acknowledged that this policy could be interpreted as contradictory, since by helping Iraq with intelligence to avoid defeat, it was in effect prolonging the war.

## No Change in Policy

Charles E. Redman, the State Department spokesman, said today that the United States policy was essentially unchanged.

"We seek the earliest possible end to the war, without victor or vanquished, and with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of both Iran and Iraq intact," he said. "To that end we welcome constructive diplomatic efforts for a settlement. We don't sell arms to

either side, nor do we allow transfers by others of U.S.-sourced or licensed arms to either side."

"We actively discourage shipments of arms from any source to Iran, which remains the intransigent party in the war," Mr. Redman added. "Iraq, on the other hand, has indicated its willingness to cooperate with various efforts to bring the war to a negotiated or mediated end."

The American policy, set in 1983, has benefited Iraq because the United States has not tried to dissuade France or the Soviet Union, Iraq's main arms suppliers, from selling arms to Baghdad. At the same time, the United States urged others not to sell arms to Iran.

Iraq has not asked for arms from the United States, officials said, because it can buy all it needs from the Soviet Union and France.

Since the American arms shipments to Iran were disclosed, President Reagan has reaffirmed that the United States will try to prevent the supply of arms to Teheran.

After the arms sales to Iran were disclosed, the Iraqis complained about the American actions, but they did not

react so strongly as some officials here had expected. Some of the officials indicated that the muted reaction might have been due in part to the secret intelligence-sharing arrangement.

The Iraqi Ambassador to the United States, Nizar Hamdoon, said in an interview today that the intelligence sharing was "a very sensitive matter."

"I really cannot comment on it for the simple reason that we don't comment on our contacts with other governments," he said. "It's very sensitive, and we are in no position to discuss such matters."

A senior White House official said the American policy toward Iraq was intended not to create a stalemate in the war, but "to bring about a cease-fire and eventually a settlement."

## 'A Great Destabilizing Effect'

"Everyone understands that a victory by Iraq is unlikely," he said, "because they have much smaller manpower resources. On the other hand, a victory by Iran could have a great destabilizing effect on the region."

"I don't think it's in anybody's interest, any country in the world, to have either side win," he said.

American officials have refused to provide all-out backing to Iraq for fear that if Iran were threatened with defeat, it might seek Soviet help.

The White House official said the

arms sold by the United States to Iran were worth \$12.2 million — a tiny share, he said, of arms sold to Iran by various suppliers in the last six years, which he valued at \$35 billion.

"Our sales to Iran have had no meaningful impact on the outcome of the war," he said. Recently, another Administration official said Iran had been sold more than \$9 billion worth of weapons by various suppliers during the same period.

## Sharing Is Called Limited

Officials said the sharing of intelligence with Iraq was limited and was meant to alert the Iraqis primarily to large-scale ground buildups by the Iranians, who have been threatening an all-out attack for two years.

"Because we could see the fact that Iran at various times clearly had the upper hand, and had the manpower to continue much further than Iraq could," the American assistance was necessary, he said.

The intelligence sharing has been conducted primarily through the American military attaché in Baghdad, and began after the two countries re-established formal diplomatic relations in November 1984, officials said.

In late 1983, they said, a National Security Council study concluded that an Iranian victory would be a major setback to American interests, given the fear that pro-Western states in the re-

gion like Saudi Arabia would feel endangered. After the establishment of relations with Iraq, the United States began providing satellite photo reconnaissance to Iraq, the officials said.

## Concern Grows in Washington

Earlier this year, concern in Washington was heightened by the Iranian breakthrough at Fao, inside Iraq. In April, Vice President Bush visited four countries in the region and affirmed the Administration's determination to keep the Persian Gulf open. He said the United States had "common security objectives" with the Persian Gulf countries, and he pledged to help them combat aggression.

One official said he believed that the Iraqis were also receiving information from the airborne early-warning system, known as Awacs, provided to Saudi Arabia. When the planes were first sold to Saudi Arabia in 1981, the Reagan Administration assured Israel's supporters that no third country would receive information from the Awacs, that it would be shared only by Saudi Arabia and the United States.

State Department officials said that unlike the sale of arms to Iran, the intelligence sharing with Iraq was carried out with the department's knowledge. William J. Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, has met with Iraqi officials in this country, they said.